
IN THIS INITIAL MONOGRAPH published by the Public Affairs Center of the Minnesota Historical Society, Professor Carl Chrislock of Augsburg College describes politics in Minnesota during the first two decades of this century. It is his thesis that most of Minnesota's political leaders supported the reforms that characterize the progressive era in American history. He concludes that the results were similar to those obtained by progressives in other states.

And they were. The regulatory power of the state was broadened, a workmen's compensation system was enacted, legislation was passed which provided greater protection for women and children, and the direct primary was instituted to make the political system more responsive to the populace. Progressives in Minnesota, like their counterparts elsewhere, believed in purifying politics, enhancing the efficiency of political administration, and safeguarding individual opportunity against attacks upon it from "selfish interests" and "political bosses."

The story is a familiar one. Chrislock brings to it a thorough knowledge of the source materials available and a broad understanding of recent trends in the historiography of progressivism. The result is a valuable contribution to the growing list of state histories of the progressive era.

More importantly, the work is of considerable significance to students of Minnesota history for two additional reasons. First, by deliberately focusing upon the war years, Chrislock carefully relates how wartime chauvinism tore asunder the amorphous progressive movement and created conditions out of which emerged the Farmer-Labor party. Moderate progressive leaders, defined as middle-class citizens of the state's small communities, followed the lead of Governor Joseph A. A. Burnquist. Zealously demanding unity in wartime and reflecting conservative fears always present within progressivism, they exhibited hostility toward organized labor and attacked the Nonpartisan League as lacking in patriotism. Simultaneously, Chrislock shows, conservative German-Americans of rural and small-town Minnesota, who had not generally supported the progressive program, gravitated towards the Nonpartisan League because the loyalty of both groups had been seriously questioned. The result was the end of the progressive era in Minnesota, with the Nonpartisan League appropriating "progressivism's rhetoric, much of its crusading spirit, and the support of its left wing." The coalition of left agrarian-progressives, unionists, and German-Americans later became the foundation upon which the Farmer-Labor party built.

Finally, Chrislock's interpretation of the progressive era is provocative for the answer he implicitly gives to the question posed at the end of his study. There, he asks if "the reform tradition promised by progressivism . . . [is] applicable to the crises of the 1970s." The answer which emerges is a resounding no.

Besides portraying the souring effect of the war upon progressive moderates, Chrislock gives careful attention to the intense commitment by numerous progressives to the prohibitionist issue of county option. Indeed, there were occasions—such as the 1914 campaign—when county option seemed to be the entire substance of progressivism.

The progressives Chrislock depicts are moderate men confronted with the problem of bringing order to a radical capitalistic system. That they were sidetracked from the major task at hand by their concern for moralistic reform and chauvinistic goals clearly stamps them as men of their time. Chrislock, in the tradition of historicism, does not attempt to portray them otherwise. In doing so, he clearly demonstrates that the history of progressivism in Minnesota offers little guidance in considering the problems confronting the state and the nation in 1972.

Reviewed by George W. Garlid, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin at River Falls.
Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion. By Karen Daniels Petersen.

FREEDOM ENDED for the Southern Plains Indian tribes in the mid-1870s. The Cheyenne, Kiowa, and others who had resisted white invasion were defeated and forced to take up sedentary, nonmilitary lives on several Oklahoma reservations. As part of the plan to impress them with the power of their new overlords, a number of Indian men were seized, thrown into irons, and shipped off to imprisonment at Fort Marion, Florida. Surprisingly, they seem to have endured the exile reasonably well. More surprisingly, perhaps, many of them began to draw and paint. Their artistic output is the subject of this book.

Karen Daniels Petersen has concerned herself with Fort Marion and the imprisoned artists before, having previously published the sketchbook of one of the Cheyenne captives, Howling Wolf, and having supplied commentary on another. In the present work, she examines the entire corpus of work produced at Fort Marion by the Southern Plains artists, indicating its relationship to prereservation Southern Plains pictography and sketching the biographies of most of the painters.

A body of useful data emerges from her research. First, in considering the group as a whole, the author points out that few of the prisoners were old enough or had important enough war records to have participated extensively in the prereservation war-exploit painting tradition of their tribes. Thus, she contends, the Fort Marion artists had no ingrained mode to break and could turn freely to depicting scenes of hunting, camp life, and other things not exclusively military. Further, in seeking to explain why the Fort Marion artists painted such an atypically wide variety of subject matter, she offers stimulating observations on prereservation Plains realistic art. Because this subject is not central to her topic, her remarks are short — unfortunately so, since Mrs. Petersen shows considerable knowledge and insight in her discussion. She should consider preparing an extensive, analytical account of pre-1870 Plains pictographic art.

Better than half the book consists of biographies of the artists, including their lives before and after the Fort Marion confinement. This documentation is valuable. But more significantly, at least one example of each artist's work is illustrated. The author's purpose here is to show the range of individuality within the group. The book concludes with an interpretation of the conventionalized symbols and devices used to show, among other things, relative distance, past and present action, and tribal identity. Physically, the book is attractive and well-prepared in the usual high standard of the University of Oklahoma Press. Mrs. Petersen has made a significant contribution to our understanding of Plains pictography, and we can be grateful for her efforts.

Reviewed by RICHARD CONN, curator of the native arts department of the Denver Art Museum.

Joe Hill. By Gibbs M. Smith.
(Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1969. viii, 256 p. Illustrations. $7.00.)

"JOE HILL" (as he signed his songs), "Joseph Hillstrom" (the name under which he was tried and convicted), or Joel Emanuel Hägglund (as he was known in Sweden) was born in Gävle, Sweden, in 1879. He was executed in 1915 by a firing squad at Utah State Prison for the 1914 murder (by shooting) of John G. Morrison, a Salt Lake City grocer. (Morrison's son, Arling, was also killed, but Hill was tried for the murder of the father only.) After he immigrated to the United States in 1902, Hill became well known for his hard-hitting songs written in the interest of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). When he was found guilty of murder on circumstantial evidence only, under conditions that encouraged belief that he was not given a fair trial, his case became a cause célèbre and Hill a world-famous martyr of the class struggle.

After the execution, most of the writing on Joe Hill was uncritical, almost hagiographical in nature. It was not until some twenty years ago — with the publication of unsympathetic articles by Wallace Stegner (Pacific Spectator, 1:184-187, and New Republic, 118:20-24, 58) and Vernon H. Jensen (Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 4:356-366) and the detective work of the late Ture Nerman, a veteran Swedish socialist and student of the labor movement — that serious investigation appeared in print. Since then the publication pace in both countries has speeded up, one of Joe Hill's songs has been a minor issue of the Swedish general election of 1970, and the Hill story has reached a world-wide audience through Bo Widerberg's moving, but subjective, film, Joe Hill. Widerberg's historical adviser was Gibbs M. Smith, the author of the book under review.

Smith's text, comprising about two-thirds of the book, discusses Hill's songs, reconstructs his life before his arrest in Murray, Utah, considers the murders, the trial, the long defense campaign, and the execution, and examines the Joe Hill legend. The biographical section leans heavily, as is proper, on the research of Ture Nerman, but it is strengthened by the author's own discoveries, such as identification of the recipient of Hill's last letter. Smith discusses the killings and trial with judiciousness and sobriety. He discounts the once popular claim of a Mormon conspiracy against the Wobbly agitator and raises most of the arguments for and against Hill's guilt. The last two chapters, "I don't want to be found dead in Utah" (a characteristic example of Joe Hill's gallows humor) and "Joe Hill will never die," are excellent surveys of the funeral and the Hill cult.

Among the appendices accompanying the text are a check list of Hill's songs compiled by a student of labor folklore, Archie Binns, the text of some of the documents in the case, a bibliography, and a sketchy index. The numerous illustrations are not listed.

One of the good features of the work is the consideration given to the Swedish-American milieu in which Hill frequently moved. The shady friend, Otto Applequist, who was with Hill on the night of the killings and who disap-
peared forever the day after, and the Eselius family, with whom the pair were living at Murray, are well known. But the reader is also introduced to the Eselius family’s relatives, the Ericksons, Maria Johanson, Oscar W. Larson (a Swedish IWW member in Salt Lake City who was deported in the 1930s for his activities as a Communist agitator), and Oscar Westergren, whom Hill visited in Los Angeles before going to Salt Lake City.

In addition, Smith includes a number of articles in his bibliography which were published in Sweden. This promises well: the ethnic dimension of the Joe Hill case has never been thoroughly examined. But it is here that the author, perhaps unaware that he has led us to a new threshold, fails us. Swedish proper names are often misspelled, while newspapers sometimes appear in the bibliography without the place of publication and in one case with the wrong place. Only sometimes does the bibliography provide correct dates and pagination for periodical articles.

Unfortunately, Smith’s use of his Swedish sources is also open to criticism. For example, Ragnar Johanson is included as one of the “many Swedish-Americans, who had no apparent connection with the I.W.W.” Although the author correctly elaborates that Johanson was “one of the persons who in 1949 publicized the fact that Hill was Joel Höglund,” he somehow overlooks the fact that Johanson was a very well-known IWW agitator among the Scandinavian-Americans and one of the defendants in the 1918 mass trial of Wobblies in Chicago. When one turns to the 1949 Folket i Bild article which identified Hill as Höglund, one finds that Johanson made it plain that he spoke for the IWW in Salt Lake City only a year after Hill’s execution and that he told Salt Lake City detectives that he “knew Joe Hill personally.”

Another odd feature of Smith’s examination of the crime is his failure to mention the exoneration of Joe Hill supposedly given to Johanson by the Salt Lake City detectives. The exoneration story, which Johanson revealed in the article under discussion, sounds far-fetched, but corroborative evidence, Johanson claimed, could be found in “the city’s Swedish paper” (presumably Utah Korrespondenten or Utah Posten). Perhaps Smith did follow the lead and found it worthless, but we are not told.

Moreover, Smith seems unaware of the existence of a Swedish-American workers’ press at the time of the Hill trial. The Scandinavian IWW propaganda group was publishing Solidaritet in Seattle, and the Scandinavian Federation of the Socialist Party, in which Oscar W. Larson was prominent, was putting out Svenska Socialisten (which Larson later edited) in Chicago. Again we do not know whether Smith used these papers.

Nowhere is it revealed in Joe Hill whether or not Smith made a search for the papers of marginally involved Swedish Wobblies—Oscar Larson, Ragnar Johanson, and Edward Mattson—who were later deported and who became somewhat prominent figures in the labor movement in Sweden. At least one of these men—Larson—left or gave papers to the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv (Archive of the Labor Movement) in Stockholm. These papers are not mentioned in the manuscripts section of the bibliography.

Although it is probably too late to hope for conclusive proof of Joe Hill’s innocence or guilt, his story is one in which the ethnic element might still provide new evidence. This field for research is, it seems, still open.

Reviewed by Michael Brook, research associate at the Minnesota Historical Society who has a special interest in Scandinavian-American radical literature.

General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy. By Richard N. Ellis.
(Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1970. x, 287 p. Illustrations. $10.00.)

GENERAL JOHN POPE was given to speaking his mind, but in the sometimes perverse way of history he is remembered largely for ill-advanced bombast before a Civil War fiasco rather than for later, more sensible statements on Indian policy and related matters. Pope had been victorious at New Madrid, Missouri, and nearby Island No. 10 and so was called east in mid-1862 to head the newly-formed Army of Virginia. Unfortunately for his reputation, he not only was soundly defeated by Confederates at the Second Battle of Bull Run in August, 1862, but also alienated his men with bluster about having “always seen the backs of our enemies” in the West and about his headquarters being in the saddle.

Against his wishes he soon had his headquarters shifted to distant St. Paul, having been banished to Minnesota to command the new military Department of the Northwest. When he arrived on September 17, he “found himself in the midst of one of the most serious Indian uprisings in American history,” but the process of quelling the Sioux was so far along by then that Pope really did little but back measures already taken by Governor Alexander Ramsey and Colonel Henry H. Sibley. Pope did, however, plan the punitive expeditions that followed into Dakota Territory in 1863 and 1864.

Thereafter, except for a brief stint in the South, Pope served in the West until his retirement in 1886. As head, at one time or another, of the departments of the Northwest and of the Missouri and of the divisions of the Missouri and of the Pacific, Pope had command over every section of the American West except Texas and gave orders to soldiers who battled all the major Indian tribes—the Sioux, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Ute, and Apache, among others. The author shows that this lengthy western service, along with prewar surveying and exploration work, fitted Pope to be an expert on Indian policy. The general all the while bombarded his superiors, and anyone else he felt worth writing to, with advice on how the Indians should be treated. In the process he and other army officers differed frequently with the Indian Bureau and the rest of the Department of the Interior, eastern humanitarians, and others. Most of the story is based on Pope’s voluminous official correspondence. The general doubtless wrote many personal letters, too, but these have not been discovered and therefore Mr. Ellis has been denied the chance to
make his subject come to life in a vivid, personal way.

When Pope first was stationed in Minnesota, he talked of exterminating the Sioux. At least, he was among many who called for execution of 303 condemned prisoners (Lincoln eventually cut the list down to thirty-nine). But gradually he proved himself a humane soldier with "a growing concern for the welfare of the red men," Mr. Ellis says, "and throughout the latter part of his career he used his influence to prevent bloodshed and secure adequate treatment for the tribes."

In condemning the federal government's Indian policy of the 1860s, Pope especially wanted the treaty system scrapped as a costly failure. Annuity payments should cease because the money ended up in the hands of swindlers. Moreover, the Indians regarded annuities as a sign of weakness. The payments, Pope said, "lead necessarily to the very hostilities they are intended to prevent." Treaty-making was abandoned in 1871.

Pope also differentiated between "semi-civilized" tribes like the Winnebago and Ponca and "wild" tribes such as the Teton Sioux and the Comanche. The former, he believed, should be disarmed, moved away "from the debasing influence of unscrupulous frontiersmen," and cared for by civilian agents. These Indians would thus be in a better position to be Christianized and civilized.

The wild tribes, however, should be controlled exclusively by the War Department. The army should use force if necessary to round up these Indians on reservations and keep them there so that military agents could employ teachers, farmers, and missionaries to prepare the blanket Indians for civilization. Later, Pope plumped for turning the wild tribes into sheepherders rather than farmers.

Actually, Mr. Ellis shows, the army, the humanitarians, and the Indian Bureau all "agreed that the goal of Federal policy should be acculturation." He adds: "There was little opposition to the idea that the Indians should be placed on reservations and then be civilized, educated, and Christianized for assimilation into white society." There was no consensus, however, about how this should be done.

Besides providing a brief but satisfactory account of the Sioux Uprising, the author treats additional Minnesota subjects. Like others before him, for instance, he shows Bishop Henry Whipple to be "the leading civilian critic of Federal Indian policy." In keeping with an article he wrote for Minnesota History (Summer, 1970), the author holds that the Powder River expedition of 1865 failed at least in part because Pope gave in to political pressure in Minnesota and sent General Alfred Sully's force on a fruitless march to the Devils Lake area to hunt nonexistent Indians. (This is an interesting theory, but one cannot help wondering whether Sully could have done much to turn the tide along Powder River.)

For some readers Mr. Ellis doubtless will appear too pro-army. He also would have provided a useful service had he spelled out more clearly the extent (if any) to which Pope's proposals influenced President Ulysses S. Grant's so-called Peace Policy. In view of the steady stream of books appearing on such colorful figures as George A. Custer and William J. Fetterman, it is refreshing to have a well-written account of a less glamorous but nevertheless important administrative general in the West and to be reminded that Pope should be remembered for more than his failure at Second Bull Run.

Reviewed by Kenneth Carley, editor of this magazine.
Despite its penchant for overstatement, the book is a valuable contribution to the field of ethnic studies. It makes available in vigorous and readable prose considerable factual material relating to Norwegian-American political history. An appendix tabulating the votes of Norwegian-American senators and congressmen on all significant reform bills from 1905 to 1916 supports the main thrust of Wefald's argument. A bibliography listing both primary sources and secondary works is another good feature of the book.

Wefald's provocative closing suggestion—that assimilation of Norse-Americans into the mainstream of American political life significantly diluted their radical proclivities—deserves further investigation.


(New York, Arno Press, 1971. xvi, 529 p. $15.00.)

IN 1970 the University of Nebraska educational television station produced "The Black Frontier," a series of four, hour-long programs financed by a Ford Foundation grant. The programs, aired over the Public Broadcasting System network, attracted considerable interest. Audiences were amazed to discover the prominent role played in the setting of the West by Black cowboys, fur traders, homesteaders, and businessmen. Evidently encouraged by the public's response, publishers commissioned books on the Black frontiersmen, and these works are beginning to appear in bookstores.

William Loren Katz's The Black West is a "coffee-table book" with numerous illustrations, copious quotes from original sources, and a connecting narrative. The author makes no claim to scholarly sophistication, presumably intending to attract the interest of the general public with a basic narrative of the Black experience in the West. Katz makes extensive use of biographies and includes many sketches of prominent western Blacks. These range from Estevan, the Black who explored Arizona and New Mexico territory in the mid-sixteenth century, to more contemporary personalities such as Major Charles Young, who graduated from West Point in 1889, and editor and politician Edwin P. McCabe of Kansas and Oklahoma.

There are few surprises in Katz's book for anyone moderately acquainted with the role of the Blacks in the West. The author would have improved his book if he had delved more deeply into specific aspects of the Black frontier experience instead of wasting space with commonplace explanations of such well-known subjects as the Dred Scott case and the Underground Railroad. For his treatment of the latter, Katz relies heavily on the somewhat fanciful accounts of Wilbur Siebert rather than on the more reliable but less colorful analysis of Professor Larry Gara. Despite these and a few other shortcomings, however, The Black West provides a good, solid general introduction to the role of the Blacks on the frontier.

The Negro on the American Frontier is a collection of articles by Kenneth Wiggins Porter who, for many years, was an almost solitary worker in the field of the Black on the frontier. In the last four decades he has produced seminal articles, many of which are reprinted here, on such important aspects of the Black experience as the participation of Blacks in the fur trade, Indian-Black relations on the Florida frontier, and the Black cowboy.

The core of this collection concerns the striking unity between Blacks and Seminole Indians in Florida before, during, and after its takeover by the United States. Porter's great contribution has been to reveal the close social and political associations of Blacks and Indians, in which the Blacks, many of them fugitive slaves, were able to achieve a position of ascendancy largely because of their greater knowledge of the white man's ways and their ability to act as interpreters between the whites and the Indians. The author makes it clear that it was the Blacks who stiffened the Seminoles' resolve to fight to keep the whites out of Florida and later to prevent the complete destruction of their way of life by aggressive and avaricious American frontiersmen. He shows that whites realized that the Seminole Wars were, in fact, Black wars as well as wars against the Indians and, in turn, that Blacks were determined opponents of southern whites, knowing that if Seminole power was obliterated in Florida, most if not all of the Blacks would be returned or reduced to slavery. In a situation unique in the annals of American slavery, the majority of the Blacks, frequently runaways or their descendants, were allowed to accompany their nominal Indian "masters" across the Mississippi. One of the most interesting articles in this compendium describes the migration of Blacks and Seminole into Mexico after objections were raised by the Creeks in Indian Territory about the equal status of the Blacks among the Seminoles.

Unfortunately, the format of Porter's book does not facilitate its reading. The articles are reproduced as originally published in a variety of periodicals, and the different type faces break up the physical continuity of the book. Following each article are Porter's annotations and corrections, which contain additional pertinent data. The inclusion in the book of several articles published over the years on similar themes makes for an infuriating repetition of the same basic facts in as many as five articles. The author's connecting narrative between the reprints attempts to elevate the collection into a general history of the Black frontier experience but is of dubious value. Last and by no means least, the $15.00 price tag on the book is outrageous. Anyone seriously interested in the original articles could reproduce them less expensively on his own.

Reviewed by Norman Lederer, head of the Wisconsin State Universities ethnic and minority studies center at the University of Wisconsin at Platteville.
THE FOURTH VOLUME in the American Meteorological Society's continuing series on the history of weather is entitled Early American Tornadoes 1586-1870 by David M. Ludlum (Boston, 1970. 219 p. $10.00). The twofold purpose of the book is concisely stated in the "Foreword": "(1) to set down in chronological order and in proper geographical setting the meteorological characteristics of all reported storms of the tornado classification which have occurred within the present United States prior to 1870, and (2) to describe the intellectual effort made by early American scientists in analyzing and in attempting to understand the nature of the tornado and related local severe storms." The author's problem was complicated by the question of what constituted a tornado, a Spanish word which came into use in the 1840s to describe a "local rotary storm," the sense in which the author attempted to use it.

The book's text is divided into four geographical sections describing tornadoes in New England, the Middle Atlantic area, the Old South, and the Old Northwest. A fifth substantial section, perhaps the most interesting in the volume, is devoted to a summary of the development of "Early American Thought on Tornadoes." The author explains that storms received little scientific attention in the United States from the days of Benjamin Franklin to the 1830s and 1840s when the studies of William C. Redfield and James P. ("Storm King") Espy were published and widely debated.

Three indexes — chronological by area, geographical by state, and by individuals and institutions — are included. Unfortunately the geographical one for Minnesota consists of seven entries, five of which are incorrect.

The Minnesota material presented in the text is meager: a description of "Minnesota's 'First' Tornado" in April, 1820, based, of course, on weather records kept at Fort Snelling, and an account of a Nicollet County tornado in 1868 drawn from the St. Peter Advertiser. The chronological index lists storms at Faribault on July 7, 1862; at Red Wing on June 16, 1865; at Winona on June 15, 1866; and at New Ulm on September 11, 1868.

That the material is incomplete, the author acknowledges; it is to be hoped that the complex task of assembling early weather data will continue.

June D. Holmquist

THE HISTORY of the Duluth Ship Canal, dug across sandy Minnesota Point to turn St. Louis Bay into the world's largest fresh water port, is the subject of an article by Frank A. Young, director of the St. Louis County Historical Society, in the August-September, 1971, issue of The Duluthian. Finished in 1871 with the help of fifty volunteers and a dredge named Ish-penning — in a frantic weekend's effort to beat the arrival of a federal injunction — the canal was spanned in September, 1905 by the unconventional "Duluth Aerial Ferry Bridge," to appease neighboring Superior, Wisconsin, which had been cut off from the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad by the canal. Interesting photographs of the pre- and post-canal point accompany the article.

HOME to the Indian god Oanktehi, a favorite spot of artists and tourists, and a prime factor in the growth of two major cities and several local fortunes, St. Anthony Falls now lies in decay in the core of a metropolitan area of two million people. In "Minneapolis, Internationally Historical Falls," an article appearing in the July-September, 1971 issue of Historic Preservation, Peter N. Hall, one of the three architects on the Riverfront Advisory Task Force, recounts the illustrative past of St. Anthony Falls, the grand Pillsbury "A" Mill, empty elevators, the J. J. Hill stone-arch railroad bridge, and the politics that led to establishment of St. Anthony Historic District in 1971. Photographs and old drawings accompany the text.


THEODORE C. BLEGEN'S Grass Roots History, originally published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1947, has been reissued by the Kennikat Press (Fort Washington, New York, 1969. 266 p. $10.00). The book brings together seventeen essays that bear out its thesis, expressed at the beginning, that "the pivot of history is not the uncommon, but the usual, and the true makers of history are 'the people, yes.'" Blegen was one of the first to champion "folk-cultural" history based in part on the literature of the unlettered — ballads, diaries, letters, newspaper advertisements, spoken language, bedtime stories, "attic inventories," and the like. In some of the essays, immigrants, missionaries, doctors, and politicians come alive for the reader through Blegen's lively touch.